565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friederici has added an explanation of their origin to his
● 174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
85 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J. P. B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

000 /81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
535
838

1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks
[648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

171 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of
174 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are
• 174 dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 838 The data given above invite a number of observations. As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

[94 cont.]

A 583 marriage, the obligation was exclusively on the man to support his wife, and thus his influence might become too dominant. Another explanation might be that the so-called bride price served to identify ancestry not only in the male line but also in the female. That the bride price was ever regarded by the Atjehnese as a purchase price for the woman is difficult to assume when one considers the dominant matriarchal elements in A connection with marriage.

562 In harmony with the marriage and kinship rules, the position of women in Atjeh is fairly high. This can be inferred A from the fact, among others, that the ta' lik (1), a general [586]

1. See Chap. 5, "Islam."

custom on Java, which strengthens the position of the woman A in the case of divorce, is not necessary in Atjeh. The laws of 428 inheritance are, in general, based on Mohammedan law, but there are some deviations based on the adat.

A In Atjehnese marriage, goods are not held in common; 421 the man and wife keep the possessions they brought into the 422 marriage strictly separated. Those possessions that are earned by their common efforts during the course of the marriage (for instance, work in the fields) are, however, regarded as common property in the lowlands. In the highlands, everything amassed during the marriage, whether through the efforts of both or of only one of them, is considered common property.

A 586 In the case of divorce the common property is divided in two; that brought into the marriage goes back to where it came from, but in some cases even what has been earned by the man alone is regarded as common property.

M 101 c. Buginese and Makassarese (South Celebes). These two 174 peoples, in many respects similar to each other and differing primarily only in language, long ago reached a stage of political development where clan division has no influence. Their M 631 society is based completely on territorial units, but the origin

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These ornaments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was probably the only native jurisdictional community on southern Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornamentships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature 641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the 582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy 583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[53 cont.]

Br I 287 Many peoples of the Malay Archipelago make their clothing from tree bast treated this way, not only the tjawat, but also the badju [baju]. Even those who are acquainted with the loom still use clothing made of tree bark, at least for work in the fields. Such garments are most common among the less developed peoples, such as the Dajak [Dyak], the Alfoer of the eastern parts of the archipelago, and the still almost savage tribes.

I 286 294 291 177 Besides tree bark, all kinds of fabrics are used in the archipelago for making garments. The natives probably learned weaving from the Hindus. The least developed tribes use the fibers of various plants and also young bamboo for weaving; the most highly developed, however, use the fibers of the cotton plant exclusively.

In recent times, however, European linen is used more and more, but the native in any case prefers his own fabrics. Kain, sarongs, slendangs, and headcloths are generally of local manufacture, at least to the extent they are the only ones people can afford, however well European manufacturers have learned to imitate native designs. Besides European cotton textiles, woolen MK MI and silk materials are also used, at least by notables and the well-to-do.

J I 293 174 Before we leave clothing, we shall say [54] a few words about the use of the pajung or songsong, in many cases an indispensable part of the daily costume, although not actually a garment. The pajung or songsong is a parasol of native manufacture. The right to use it is usually held exclusively by the nobility or people of rank or respect, such as sovereigns, princes, and officials. The parasol, with a long handle, is held over the head of the one entitled to use it by a servant. The color or colors of the pajung, gold, red, green, blue, and yellow, the distribution of these colors in stripes and borders, and partly also the knob indicate the rank of the person it shades. The peoples of the Malay Archipelago undoubtedly adopted the pajung and its use as an indication of rank from the Hindus. The pajung, of course, is not found among the uncivilized tribes. It is used only

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

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[222]

[54 cont.]

among the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, Buginese, etc. The Government, too, has adopted the use of the pajung as a mark of distinction. The Government has awarded the right to carry the pajung to the native chiefs and officials on Java, to the chiefs of the Ambon Residency, to the native chiefs among the Minahasa, etc.

The highest in rank is the golden or yellow pajung, which on Java is carried by the sultans of Solo and Jogjakarta (1).

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 613-614.

[55]

Chapter 3. Houses and Household Equipment

a. Nomads, living in trees; b. Village settlement pattern, composition of villages; c. Houses on piles, their layout; d. Houses on the ground, their layout; e. Peculiar shapes of houses; f. Palaces, regents' houses; g. House decoration; h. Household equipment.

a. Nomads, Living in Trees

Before we discuss the dwelling in the narrower sense, the house, we want to deal first with the question as to whether there still are tribes in the Malay Archipelago who do not have residences and whom we should therefore call nomads. This question can be promptly answered in the affirmative. Naturally, only the least developed tribes spend their lives wandering from one place to another. It has been reported that most of these tribes only build wretched huts here and there, merely a lean-to made of branches and leaves. In most cases these huts are built between the heavy branches of high trees.

Malays AN5
Makassar 066
Javanese 0E5
Tenggerese 0E8
Mentawi 0D9

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 064
Moluccas 0H1
New Guinea 0J1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

T J MK I 342 621 ●174 591 the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Bt T Mt MI Br I 342 Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways; and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tapa lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dépok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK 771 day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK 174 the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was introMK 771 duced there by Hindu-Javanese. We shall now briefly discuss this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

Makassar 066
Toradja 066

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 M 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Walboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Pětta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

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M-L /131 cont./
173
643 Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side
648 tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

M
M-L 17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.
174
643 That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date
648 than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his
T subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as
648 the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a
T matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had
648 his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title
[631] of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this
T region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.
M-L The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their de-
648 pendence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.